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1995/05/18

PRIORITY

UNCLASSIFIED EXCISE
EAP/AMEMBASSY BEIJING

INCUMING

P
B1d

PAGE B1 OF B3 BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876 S078419
ACTION: CM (B)

INFO: EAP (B4) P (B1) RA (B1) UN (B1)
----- 18/0930Z A2 DDK (TOTAL COPIES: B12)
ACTION EAP-BB

INFO LOG-BB ACDA-17 ACDE-BB AID-BB AMAD-B1 CIAE-BB OASY-BB
DODE-BB DOEE-BB EB-BB FBIE-BB H-B1 TEDE-BB INR-BB
10-BB L-BB ADS-BB M-BB NSAE-BB NSCE-BB OIC-B2
OMB-B1 PA-B1 PM-BB PRS-B1 P-B1 SP-BB SR-BB
SS-BB STR-B1 TRSE-BB T-BB USIE-BB SA-BB PMB-BB
PRME-B1 DRL-BB G-BB /048W
----- CGCDA4 180546Z /38

P 180538Z MAY 95
FM AMEMBASSY BEIJING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3528
INFO AMCONSUL SHANGHAI
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMCONSUL SHENYANG
AMCONSUL GUANGZHOU
AMCONSUL CHENGDU

CONFIDENTIAL BEIJING 917629

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PHUM, PGOU, CH
SUBJECT: INTELLECTUALS PETITION FOR "TOLERANCE",
RE-EVALUATION OF TIANANMEN

REF: (A) BEIJING 16551, (B) BEIJING 05211,
(C) BEIJING 5641, (D) BEIJING 11486
(E) BEIJING 16554

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

2. SUMMARY. A GROUP OF 45 CHINESE INTELLECTUALS HAS PRESENTED A BOLD PETITION TO JIANG ZEMIN AND QIAO SHI CALLING ON THE AUTHORITIES TO TOLERATE PEACEFUL EXPRESSION OF POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS, REEVALUATE THE JUNE 4 INCIDENT, AND RELEASE THOSE IMPRISONED FOR THEIR ACTIVITIES IN 1989 OR FOR THEIR POLITICAL OR RELIGIOUS BELIEFS. THEY LINKED THIS CALL TO A UNITED NATIONS PROCLAMATION OF 1995 AS A "YEAR FOR TOLERANCE." &

JEND SUMMARY.

CALL FOR TOLERANCE

3. A BOLD PETITION, SIGNED BY 45 INDIVIDUALS, MOSTLY SCIENTISTS AND INTELLECTUALS (BUT INCLUDING A FEW WELL-KNOWN DISSIDENTS SUCH AS WANG DAN, LIU NIANCHUN, AND DING ZILIN), BEGAN CIRCULATING IN BEIJING LATE ON MAY 16. POLOFF RECEIVED A COPY OF THE PETITION AND A COVER LETTER ADDRESSED TO PRESIDENT JIANG ZEMIN AND NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS CHAIRMAN QIAO SHI, BOTH DATED MAY 15, FROM A JOURNALIST ON THE EVENING OF MAY

16. IN THE TEXT (AN INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT APPEARS IN PARA 10), PETITIONERS CALLED FOR GREATER TOLERANCE OF DISSENTING POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS VIEWS, TYING THEIR PLEA TO THE UN

BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876 S078419
RESOLUTION PROCLAMING 1995 THE "YEAR OF TOLERANCE." WHILE THE PETITION TOUCHED ON THE EXTREMELY SENSITIVE QUESTION OF RE-EVALUATING THE TIANANMEN INCIDENT, ITS TONE WAS REASONED, CONSTRUCTIVE AND MODERATE.

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4. WHILE A FEW OF THE SIGNATORIES HAD ALSO SIGNED PETITIONS ADDRESSED TO THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS IN FEBRUARY (REFS B AND C), THERE WAS LITTLE OVERLAP. MOST WERE AFFILIATED WITH THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, THE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, OR MAJOR UNIVERSITIES. NOTED DISSIDENTS CHEN ZIMING, XU WEILU, ZHOU DUO AND OTHERS DID NOT SIGN THE MAY 15 PETITION.

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<input type="checkbox"/> DENY	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> IN PART	<input type="checkbox"/> EXEMPTIONS
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> B1	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/> FOIA Exemptions	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/> PA Exemptions
<input type="checkbox"/> CLASSIFY AS	<input type="checkbox"/> TS or	<input type="checkbox"/> SECURITY INFORMATION
<input type="checkbox"/> DOWNGRADE TS TO	<input type="checkbox"/> S or	<input type="checkbox"/> CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 87 OF 88 BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876

S870419

BEIJIN 17629 88 OF 84 180543Z 026876

S870419

FOUNDING MEMBER OF THE UN AND IT IS ALSO A PERMANENT MEMBER OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL WITH VETO POWER. THEREFORE, IT SHOULD CONSCIENTIOUSLY IMPLEMENT THIS RESOLUTION, CAUSING THE RELATIVELY UNFAMILIAR SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE TO TAKE ROOT IN OUR COUNTRY'S FIELD OF POLITICS, IDEOLOGY, RELIGION, CULTURE AND EDUCATION.

TOLERANCE IS A MARK OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION. IT IS A

PRECONDITION AND BASIS FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION. WESTERN ENLIGHTENMENT THINKERS RECOGNIZED THE VALUE OF TOLERANCE IN THEIR LONG STRUGGLE AGAINST DICTATORIAL CONTROL BY THEOOCRATIC POWERS OF WORLD FEUDALISM. THEY AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, AFTER

ACHIEVING POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, DID NOT GO DOWN THE OLD ROAD OF HISTORIC DICTATORIAL MONARCHY; INSTEAD THEY EMPHASIZED CITIZENS' BASIC HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AS BASIC PRINCIPLES IN ESTABLISHING THEIR COUNTRIES. THEY DID NOT DEMAND THAT ALL HAVE THE SAME OPINIONS AND TOOK THE ATTITUDE OF PERMITTING ALL SORTS OF THOUGHT, BELIEFS, CUSTOMS AND ACTS. THEY PERMITTED THE PERSONAL VIEWS OF THE MINORITY TO BE FREELY AND OPENLY DISPLAYED (INCLUDING ASPECTS OF POLITICS, RELIGION, SCIENCE AND ARTS AND CULTURE). BECAUSE THEY HAD THIS SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE, SCIENCE AND CULTURE EXPERIENCED LONG TERM PROSPERITY. THEREFORE, THERE WAS NO REPETITION OF THE HISTORICAL TRAGEDIES SUCH AS CONSIDERING HERESIES AS SCOURGES OR THE BURNING TO DEATH OF BRUNO OR TORTURE TO FORCE GALILEO TO GIVE UP HIS THEORY OF THE EARTH MOVING THROUGH THE HEAVENS.

I. INFORMAL EMBASSY TRANSLATION OF THE PETITION FOLLOWS:

LETTER DATED APRIL 15, 1995 FROM XU LIANGYING TO JIANG ZEMIN AND QIAO SHI:

THIS YEAR IS THE UNITED NATIONS YEAR FOR TOLERANCE. ON THE GROUNDS OF MY MANY YEARS OF RESEARCH ON THE HISTORY OF WORLD SCIENCE AND MODERN CIVILIZATION, I STRONGLY FEEL THAT TOLERANCE IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN CIVILIZATION; BUT THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF OUR COUNTRY LACKS A SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE AND IS USED TO HAVING A UNIFORMLY IMPOSED IDEOLOGY. THE LACK OF THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE IS THE MAIN BARRIER TO THE REALIZATION OF MODERNIZATION IN OUR COUNTRY. IN ORDER TO CHANGE THIS SITUATION, I HAVE DRAFTED "A PLEA GREETING THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE, A CALL TO REALIZE TOLERANCE INSIDE CHINA." I HAVE RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF MY TEACHER, TO WHOM I AM GRATEFUL, THE 88-YEAR OLD NUCLEAR PHYSICIST MR. WANG GANCHANG AND OTHER ELDER INTELLECTUALS (THE 91-YEAR OLD AUTHOR MR. LOU SHIYI), AND I HAVE ALSO RECEIVED THE SUPPORT OF MANY ACADEMIC FRIENDS (MOST ARE PROFESSORS AT THE CHINESE ACADEMY

OF SCIENCES, THE CHINESE ACADEMY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND SEVERAL FAMOUS UNIVERSITIES) AND SEVERAL YOUNG FRIENDS (THEY HAVE ALL RECEIVED INTOLERANT TREATMENT). PLEASE CONSIDER AND ACCEPT THIS PLEA SIGNED WITH 45 NAMES IN LIGHT OF YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE REALIZATION OF OUR COUNTRY'S MODERNIZATION AND SOCIAL STABILITY.

GREETING THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE, A CALL FOR TOLERANCE WITHIN CHINA

ON DECEMBER 28, 1993, THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTED RESOLUTION 48-126 PROCLAIMING 1995 THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE AS A WAY FOR MARKING THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UN, AND OF PROCLAIMING THE BASIC SPIRIT ENDORDED IN THE UN: TOLERANCE. OUR COUNTRY IS A

IN EXAMINING THE CULTURE OF OUR ANCIENT COUNTRY, SEVERAL THOUSAND YEARS OF INTOLERANCE AND NOT PERMITTING ALTERNATIVE VOICES HAS EXISTED EVEN UNTIL TODAY. IN 1955 BECAUSE HE EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL ARTISTIC VIEWS IN WRITTEN FORM, HU FENG AND HIS ASSOCIATES WERE DECLARED GUILTY OF FORMING A COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY CLIQUE INCLUDING OVER TWO THOUSAND PEOPLE. IN 1957, THE INTELLECTUALS WHO DARED TO SPEAK FRANKLY IN ANSWER TO THE CALL FOR A "HUNDRED SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT CONTEND" WERE ALL LABELED "RIGHTISTS," NUMBERING 11 PERCENT OF ALL INTELLECTUALS (AT A MINIMUM 550,000 PEOPLE). THE 10 YEARS OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION BEGINNING IN 1966

WERE A GREATER NATIONAL DISASTER FOR THE PEOPLE BY ELIMINATING DISSIDENT VIEWS. AFTER 1978 THE SITUATION HAS CHANGED SOMEWHAT, THE MISTAKEN CASES NOTED ABOVE WERE BASICALLY OVERTURNED, AND WE HAVE SEEN AN INITIAL LOOSENING AND THE BEGINNING OF RAPID ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. BUT, BECAUSE OF THE FAILURE TO REALIZE TRUE REFORM AND OPENING AND THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE NECESSARY FOR MODERNIZATION, THE RESULT WAS THE HUMAN TRAGEDY OF JUNE 4, 1989 WHICH SHOCKED THE WORLD, ALONG WITH THE SERIES OF INCIDENTS VIOLATING CITIZENS' BASIC RIGHTS WHICH FOLLOWED.

IN ORDER TO WELCOME THE UN YEAR FOR TOLERANCE, WE SHOULD DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO BROADCAST THE SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE THAT IS INDISPENSABLE FOR MODERN CIVILIZATION AND FOSTER THE TRUE IMPLEMENTATION IN OUR COUNTRY OF THE PRINCIPLE OF THE UN CHARTER TO "PROMOTE AND ENCOURAGE ADHERENCE TO HUMAN RIGHTS AND BASIC FREEDOMS AMONG ALL MANKIND."

WITH THIS INTENT, WE HOPE THAT THE AUTHORITIES:

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PAGE 83 OF 83 BEIJIN 17629 BB OF 84 180543Z 026876
(1) USE A TOLERANT SPIRIT IN RESPONDING TO ALL SORTS
OF OPINIONS ON IDEOLOGY, POLITICAL THOUGHT AND
RELIGIOUS BELIEF. NEVER AGAIN CONSIDER PEOPLE
HOLDING INDEPENDENT THOUGHTS OR VIEWS "ENEMY
ELEMENTS," AND OPPRESS, ATTACK, SURVEIL, HOLD UNDER
HOUSE ARREST OR EVEN ARREST THEM.

(2) HOLDING A SPIRIT OF SEEKING TRUTH FROM FACTS,
RE-EVALUATE THE JUNE 4 INCIDENT, AND ALSO RELEASE
FROM PRISON THE PEOPLE INVOLVED.

(3) RELEASE ALL PERSONS INCARCERATED FOR THEIR
THOUGHTS, STATEMENTS AND BELIEFS AND RESOLUTELY END
THE INGLORIOUS ANCIENT TRADITION OF LITERARY CRIMES.

AT THE SAME TIME, WE ALSO HOPE THAT THE ENTIRE
SOCIETY CAN NURTURE A SPIRIT OF TOLERANCE TOWARD
OTHERS AND SUPPORT A RATIONAL JUST ATTITUDE TOWARD
HANDLING ALL SORTS OF CONTRADICTIONS AND DISPUTES,
USING PEACEFUL MEANS TO EXPRESS THEIR PERSONAL VIEWS
AND OPINIONS, AVOIDING RADICAL EMOTIONS WHICH
STRENGTHEN CONTRADICTIONS AND ABSOLUTELY REFRAIN FROM
VIOLENT ACTIONS. ONLY IN THIS WAY, WILL OUR COUNTRY
BE ABLE TO PROCEED IN A STABLE FASHION DOWN THE ROAD
OF DEMOCRATIZATION AND MODERNIZATION.

OF COURSE, IN CALLING FOR TOLERANCE, THIS DOES NOT
MEAN NOT JUST KEEPING ON GOOD TERMS WITH EVERYONE
WITHOUT REGARD FOR RIGHT AND WRONG. TOLERANCE CANNOT
BE SEPARATED FROM THE CONCEPTS OF DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM,
HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE RULE OF LAW. THEY ARE MUTUALLY
SUPPORTED AND MUTUALLY ACHIEVED. TOLERANCE IS A

CONCEPT WHICH SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN DEMOCRATIC
POLITICS. IT IS A REQUIREMENT FOR POLITICAL
DEMOCRATIZATION. TOLERANCE IS DEMONSTRATED IN
RESPECTING HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOM AND ALSO TAKING
MORAL STANDARDS AND LAW AS LIMITS. AT PRESENT IN OUR

COUNTRY CORRUPTION IS SPREADING, CORRUPT PHENOMENA
SUCH AS EXCHANGING INFLUENCE FOR MONEY AND MISUSING
PUBLIC FUNDS ARE INCREASING. ONE MUST BE THOROUGH IN
EXTERMINATING AN EVIL WHICH THREATENS TO HARM THE
COUNTRY AND ITS PEOPLE. BUT WE MUST RECOGNIZE THAT
WITHOUT DEMOCRATIC SUPERVISION, ESPECIALLY THE
SUPERVISION OF INDEPENDENT PUBLIC OPINION, CORRUPTION
CANNOT BE COMPLETELY ELIMINATED. THE ENGLISH
HISTORIAN LORD ACTON POINTED OUT AS EARLY AS 108
YEARS AGO: "POWER LEADS TO CORRUPTION. ABSOLUTE
POWER CORRUPTS ABSOLUTELY." IN 1989, THE FRENCH
STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS POINTED THIS OUT EVEN MORE
CLEARLY: IGNORANCE OR NEGLECT OF HUMAN RIGHTS IS THE
SOLE CAUSE OF PUBLIC MISFORTUNE AND GOVERNMENT
CORRUPTION. THIS UNCHANGING TRUTH SHOULD BECOME
PUBLICLY RECOGNIZED AT ALL LEVELS IN OUR COUNTRY.
REALIZING TOLERANCE WILL FORCEFULLY ADVANCE THE
ANTI-CORRUPTION STRUGGLE WHICH IS OF CONCERN TO ALL
THE PEOPLE IN THE COUNTRY.

THE WORLD NEEDS TOLERANCE. CHINA NEEDS TOLERANCE.
WE HOPE THAT THROUGH ALL THE ACTIVITIES OF THE UN
YEAR FOR TOLERANCE THAT THE SITUATION OF INTOLERANCE
WHICH HAS EXISTED IN OUR COUNTRY SINCE ANCIENT TIMES
WILL BEGIN TO CHANGE AND THAT TOLERANCE WILL
GRADUALLY BECOME A FORM OF SPIRITUAL WEALTH ENJOYED
BY ALL THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY.

S878419 SIGNED: BEIJIN 17629 BB OF 84 180543Z 026876 S878-

WANG GANCHANG	3769/3227/2498
LOU SHIYI	2869/6624/1138
YANG XIANYI	2799/2889/4135
ZHOU FUCHENG	0719/6534/2052
WU ZUGUANG	0702/4371/0342
XU LIANGYING	6079/5328/5391
LIN MU	2651/3668
GUO XINGXIAN	6665/5281/0341
XUE YUGU	5641/4416/6253
ZHU ZHAOXIANG	2612/0378/4382
HU JIMIN	5178/3444/3846
HUANG ZONGZHEN	7806/1350/3914
WANG RONG	3876/1369
WANG LAIDI	3876/0171/2769
ZHAO ZHONGLI	6392/0022/4539
HU YADONG	5178/0068/2639
WANG YUEXIAN	3876/1878/0341
LI PEISHAN	2621/0168/3798
HUANG WEI	7806/3555
DONG GUANGBI	5516/0342/1084
FAN DAINIAN	5400/1486/1628
ZHOU MINGZHEN	0719/2894/6966
XU GUOZHI	6079/0048/1887
JIANG LIJIN	5592/7787/6855
HU ZUOXUAN	5178/0155/3763
DING ZILIN	0882/1311/7287
JIANG PEIKUN	5592/1014/0981
LIU LIAO	0491/6697
DONG YANKAI	5516/1693/7865
WANG FUREN	3769/1381/0888
WANG RUOSHUI	3769/5387/3055
WANG ZISONG	3876/1311/1529
ZHANG YISAN	1728/1355/0005
LIANG ZHIXUE	2733/1887/1331
HUANG XIANG	7806/5046
BAO ZUNXIN	0545/6690/0287
WU ZHEN	0702/7281
WANG LINGYUN	3769/0407/0061
CHEN XIAOYA	7115/1420/7161
LI GUIREN	2621/6311/0088
WANG DAN	3769/0030
WU XUECAN	0702/1331/3503
WANG QISHENG	3876/2759/3932
LIU NIANCHUN	0491/1819/2504
YANG HAI	2254/3189
ROY	

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